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Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā on Penitence

By A. J. ARBERRY

BROCKELMANN¹ lists no fewer than forty-four surviving works of the celebrated litterateur Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), who was tutor to the caliphs al-Mu'taḍid (d. 291/902)² and al-Muktafi (d. 295/908),³ ten more than the catalogue of titles given by Ibn al-Nadīm.⁴ While no detailed study of this important and entertaining author has yet been undertaken and the contents of only one of his books are at all well known,⁵ it is evident from his titles that the great majority of these works discuss various ascetic themes ; so that Ibn al-Nadīm is sufficiently justified in including him in his section on *zuhhād*, '*ubbād*, and *mutaṣawwifa*. As a traditionist he was reckoned to be trustworthy (*ṣadūq*)⁶ by Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/939),⁷ quoting the opinion of his father, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī (d. 277/890)⁸ : this might, indeed, be considered a somewhat biased judgment, for Muḥammad b. Idrīs, as we shall show later, was one of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's favourite sources of information. The same favourable estimate was reached by Abū 'Alī Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥabīb al-Asadī (d. 293/906),⁹ who, however, added the demurrer that Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā attended a certain Muḥammad b. Ishāq, of Balkh, who was a liar, a forger, and a fabricator of *isnād*.¹⁰

It is proposed in this paper to examine the contents of one of the minor works of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā which is not mentioned in Brockelmann's catalogue, nor apparently anywhere else, but happens to have survived in a unique and singularly interesting copy in the

¹ *G.A.L.* I 153, Suppl. I 247-8.

² al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* X 91.

³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo 1348/1929) 262.

⁴ Loc. cit. ; for a detailed discussion see A. S. Wiener in *Der Islam* IV 413-20.

⁵ The *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, lithographed twice in India and printed at Cairo ; summarized in al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *al-Araḥ fi 'ntizār al-faraj* (printed Damascus 1350/1931).

⁶ *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* X 89 ; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* II 224.

⁷ *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* III 46-9.

⁸ *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* II 132-4 ; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 31-4.

⁹ *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* II 194-5 ; *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* IX 322-8.

¹⁰ *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* X 90. However, al-Dhahabī (*Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* II 13), who mentions that Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā quoted from him, cites an opinion that he was a marvellous *ḥāfiẓ* ; see also *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* I 234-6, where it is stated *inter alia* that he said he went to Baghdad to study the works of Aristotle.

Chester Beatty collection. This little book is entitled, both on the title-page and in the colophon, the *Kitāb al-Tauba*; and its contents suggest that this is an excellently appropriate name. The manuscript is in 30 folios measuring 17.8×12.7 cm. (written surface 14.5×10 cm.), 18–20 lines to the page; the paper, which is slightly polished, is cream and of but moderate quality; some water stains have obliterated the clear *naskh* script in a few places. The damaged binding, probably of the fourteenth century, is of dark brown leather, flapped, with a rather crude centre ornament, corners, line borders, and stamped frieze, typically Mamluk in style. Though so unpretentious in appearance the little volume is precious not only for the rarity of its principal contents but also on account of other accidental features which are detailed below.

Transmission.

The transcription, which must have been made before the end of the year 598/1202,¹ is undated and unsigned. It opens with a title-page summarizing the chain of descent of the text from author to copyist; this information is recorded at greater length in the beginning of the work (fol. 1 b) :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . عونك يا لطيف حدثنا الشيخ الإمام العالم الزاهد موفق الدين أبو محمد عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد بن قدامة المقدسى أدام الله توفيقه قال قرأت على الشيخ الفقيه أبي محمد عبد الرحمن بن جامع بن غنيمة البتاء ببغداد في رجب سنة ثلث وستين وخمس مائة قلت أخبركم الشريف أبو السعادات أحمد بن أحمد بن عبد الواحد المتوكلى فأقر به قال أسا أبو بكر أحمد بن علي بن ثابت الخطيب أسا أبو سعيد محمد بن موسى بن الفضل بن ماذان الصيرفى بقراءتى عليه بنيسابور سنة خمس عشرة وأربع مائة أسا أبو عبد الله محمد بن عبد الله الإصفهاني الصقار أسا أبو بكر عبد الله بن محمد بن عبيد القرشى المعروف بابن أبي الدنيا الخ

This is indeed an eminent pedigree. The copyist, whose name we may conjecture from a reading-note subsequently analysed² to have been Abu 'l-Haram Makī b. 'Alī b. Kāmil al-Ḥarrānī, received the text at first hand from the eminent Ḥanbalī lawyer and author, Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, who was born at Jammā'il, near Nābulus, in 541/1146, and died at Damascus in 620/1223³: it was, no doubt, this treatise that inspired him to write his own manual on penitents,

¹ The date of the study-note signed by Ibn Qudāma, see below.

² Named as owner of the manuscript in Ibn Qudāma's entry.

³ See Brockelmann I 398, Suppl. I 688–9 with references.

the *Kitāb al-Taṣawwūb*.¹ He himself received the text at Baghdād in Rajab 563/April 1168² from

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Jāmi' b. Ghanīna b. al-Bannā', a distinguished Ḥanbalī scholar in his day, who was born c. 500/1107 at Maidān (Baghdad),³ achieved a reputation as a controversialist, and died in 582/1186.⁴ Ibn al-Bannā', who called himself by his grandfather's name Ghanīma,⁵ received the text from

Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Mutawakkilī, of the 'Abbāsī and Hāshimī families, mentioned as a pupil of the eminent al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,⁶ who died at the age of 80—having performed the Ramaḍān *tarāwīḥ* at this advanced age he fell from his roof on returning home—in 511/1117,⁷ having long since received the text from

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb, of Baghdad, the celebrated biographer and author of *Ta'rīkh Baghdad*, who was born in 392/1002 and died in 463/1071.⁸ He received the text at Nishapur in 415/1024 from

Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl b. Mādhān al-Ṣairafī, who studied under the eminent, all-but-centenarian, traditionist, Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Naisābūrī al-Aṣamm (247–346/861–957),⁹ whom he supported financially, and died, evidently at a very advanced age, towards the end of 421/1030.¹⁰ It must have been in his extreme youth that he received the text from

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṣaffār, an author on asceticism and associate of devotees, who died in 339/950 not having raised his head from the ground for more than forty years.¹¹ He received the text from

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā himself.

Contents.

The text of the *Kitāb al-Taṣawwūb* consists of 201 separate and distinct sections, each containing a Tradition, saying, or set of verses intro-

¹ No. 7 in Brockelmann's List.

² We know from Muḥammad Jamīl, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* 45 that Ibn Qudāma went to Baghdad, where he met 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), in 561/1166 and remained there about four years.

³ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Cairo 1323/1905) VIII 123.

⁴ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* IV 274.

⁵ Yāqūt, loc. cit.

⁶ *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* III 313.

⁷ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* IV 64.

⁸ Brockelmann I 329, Suppl. I 562–4.

⁹ *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* III 73–5.

¹⁰ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* III 220.

¹¹ Ibid. II 349.

duced by its chain of transmission ; as two of these (nos. 3, 41) are identical, the true total is 200. The sections are not numbered, nor are they arranged after any recognizable system, though occasionally there is a group of successive items introduced by the same authority.

The largest group of quotations assigned to a single personality comprises not unnaturally those attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, being 33 in all (really 32, allowing for one repetition) ; they are nos. 3, 4, 14–18, 22, 24–6, 41, 57, 75, 77, 79, 83, 90, 112, 128, 133–4, 145, 147–8, 167–170, 178, 182, 191–2. The next largest group (10) relates to al-Ḥasan, sc. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the celebrated theologian and ascetic (d. 110/728),¹ viz. nos. 68, 118, 143, 149–150, 153, 181, 187, 189–190. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib comes third with 5 sayings (nos. 6, 81, 137, 160, 171). There is a tie with 4 items each between Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mazanī (d. 106/724 or 108/726)² (nos. 42, 144, 155, 173), Mālik b. Dīnār (d. c. 130/748)³ (nos. 65, 100, 165, 185), Mujaḥid (d. 103/722)⁴ (nos. 12, 23, 51, 158), and Ibn al-Sammāk (d. 144/761)⁵ (nos. 10, 46, 63, 96). Fifth highest total of 3 items each is shared between 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 32/653 or 33/654)⁶ (nos. 30, 31, 111), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797)⁷ (nos. 8, 9, 32), 'Aun b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 110/728)⁸ (nos. 176, 179, 180), al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyād (d. 187/803)⁹ (nos. 62, 163, 199), Jesus (nos. 121, 129, 135), Moses (nos. 37, 40, 54), and Sufyān b. 'Uyaina (d. 198/814)¹⁰ (nos. 86, 161, 193). Two quotations relate to Ibrāhīm b. Adham, the noted prince of Balkh, turned Ṣūfī (d. 162/779)¹¹ ; David (nos. 12, 56), Luqmān (nos. 28, 154), and the Torah (nos. 131, 172) are also cited twice ; while there is one reference to the celebrated woman-saint Rābī'a al-'Adawīya (d. 129/947)¹² (no. 105). In all, some 100 names are cited, and there are a few anonymous quotations.

Selected Items

The following selections illustrate some of the interesting contents of this compilation :—

¹ Brockelmann I 66, Suppl. I 102.

² *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* I 484–5.

³ Ibid. X 14–15.

⁴ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 125.

⁵ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 132.

⁶ Ibid. VI 27–8.

⁷ Brockelmann, Suppl. I 156.

⁸ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 140.

⁹ Brockelmann, Suppl. I 430 ; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* VIII 84–139.

¹⁰ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 117–122.

¹¹ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 255–6 ; *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* VII 367–VIII 57.

¹² *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 140.

(5) Received from Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī > Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ulātha ¹ > Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla ² :

دخلتُ على عمر بن عبد العزيز وهو في مسجد داره وكنت له ناصحاً وكان مثنى مستمعاً فقال يا ابراهيم بلغني أن موسى قال إلهي ما الذي يخلصني من عقابك ويبلغني رضوانك وينجيني من سخطك قال الاستغفار باللسان والندم بالقلب والترك بالجوارح .

(8) Received from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī > 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who used to quote :

وكيف تحب أن تُذعَى حكيماً وأنت لكل ما تهوى ركوبٌ
وتضحك دائماً ظهراً لبطنٍ وتذكر ما عملت فلا تذوبُ

(9) Received from Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. 'Īsā al-Ahwāzī ³ > Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqri' ⁴ > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who used to quote :

ركوبُ الذنوب يُميت القلوب وقد يُورث الذلَّ إدمانها
وتركُ الذنوب حياة القلوب وخيرُ لنفسك عصيانها

(10) Received from a man of Quraish, a descendant of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaid Allāh > Ibn al-Sammāk who used to quote :

يا مُدْمِنُ الذنوب أما تستحيي الله في الخلوة ثانيك
غَرَكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ إِمِهَالُهُ وَسْتَرَهُ طَوْلُ مَسَاوِيكَ

(11) Received from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azdī ⁵ who said :

مأثم المذنبين لا يتقصَّى آخر الدهر أو يحلوا للحدود
وحقيق بأن ينوحوا ويبكوا اذ عصوا ماجداً رؤوفاً ودوداً
ابتداهم بالفضل منه أمتناناً وإذا شاء أنجز الموعدوداً
كلُّ تكليٍّ أحزانها إنفادٍ ولنا الحزن قد نراه جديداً
كيف تفتي أحزان من عاهد الله مراراً وخان منه العهدوداً
ويج نفسي ماذا أقول إذا ما أحضر الله رسله لي شهوداً
ثم قال أقر ما عملت وجاوزت بما كان منك فيه الحدوداً
لم تخفى لئلا أستترت من الخلق وبازرنتي وكنث شهيداً
وبسماي كان منك المعاصي لم تخف سطوتي وتخفى العبيداً

¹ Qāḍī of the eastern quarter of Baghdad in the reign of al-Mahdī (160-70/775-85) see *Ta'rikh Baghdād* V 388-9.

² Died 152/769, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* I 142-3.

³ Died 250/864, see *ibid.* I 14-15.

⁴ Died 212/827 or 213/828, see *ibid.* VI 83-4.

⁵ Died 264/878, see *ibid.* I 76-7.

(13) Received from 'Uqba b. Mukram al-'Amī¹ > Muḥammad b. Abī 'Adī² > al-Ash'ath³:

دخلتُ السجن فإذا الفرزدق في السجن وإذا هو يعرض شعراً فقال إني لقيت
أبا هريرة فقال يا فرزدق إني أراك صغير القدمين فألتمس لها موضعاً عند الحوض
فقلت إني قد عملتُ كذبي وعملتُ كذبي فقال إنَّ التوبة لا تزال تُقبل ما لم تطلع
الشمس من مغربها عمل عبداً ما عمل من شيء.

(29) Received from a shaikh of Kināna, who said:

نسيتُ لظي عند أرتكابك للهوى كما أنت توقي حرَّ شمس الهواجر
كأنك لم تدفن حياً ولم تكن له في سياق الموت يوماً مجاهر

(32) Received from Aḥmad b. Abī Naṣr⁴ > 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who said:

كن حياً إذا خلوتُ بذنبي دون ذي العرش من حكيم مجيد
قد تهاننت بالاله عميداً وتغييت عن عيون العبيد

(33) Received from Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Baṣrī > Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Taimī > Ma'bad b. Ṭauq al-'Anbarī who said:

تلقي الفتى حذر المنية هادياً منها وقد حدثت به لو يشعر
نصبت حبائلها له من حوله فإذا أتاه يومه لا ينظر
إنَّ امرءاً أمسى أبوه وأمه تحت التراب لنوله يتفكر
تغطى صحيفتك التي أملتتها فترى الذي فيها إذا ما تُنشر
حسناتها محودة قد أحصت والسيئات فأتى ذلك أكثر

(34) Received from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azdī > Ibrāhīm b. Dāwud who said:

ألسنا نرى شهوات النفوس تفي ويبقى علينا الذنوب
يخاف على نفسه من يتوب فكيف ترى حال من لا يتوب

(45) Received from Muḥammad b. Abī Rajā al-Qurashī > Ibrāhīm b. Adham who said:

إنك إن أدمنت النظر في مرآة التوبة بان لك قبيح شين المعصية.

(53) Received from Muḥammad b. Idrīs > 'Amrān b. Mūsā b.

¹ Died 243/857, see *Shadharāt al-dhahab* II 104; for other dates see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VII 250.

² Died 194/810, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 12-13.

³ Died 40/662, see *ibid.* I 359.

⁴ = Aḥmad b. Jamil al-Marwazī, d. 230/845, see *Ta'rikh Baghdad* IV 76-7; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-mizān* I 147.

Yazīd al-Ṭarasūsī > Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Malaṭī > Ibrāhīm b. Adham who said :

اللهم انقلني من ذلِّ معصيتك الى عزِّ طاعتك .

(64) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān¹ > a man of the Banū Tamīm who said :

أنوح على نفسي وأبكي خطيئة تقود خطايا أثقلت مني الظهر
فيا لذة كانت قليلاً بقاؤها ويا حسرة دامت ولم تبق لي عذرا

(72) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān > Abū 'Uthmān al-Mu'addib who said :

لا تنس ذنبك إن الله سآره وأستغفر الله من ذنب تبائره
خف غب ذنبك وأرج الله مزدجراً لعل ربك بعد الخوف غافره
كم من هوى لك مقرون بمعصية أصبحت تركبه والله سآره
برقت ظاهرك المدخول باطنه إن صبح باطن عبد صبح ظاهره
اعمل فلنك تجزي ما عملت به مهما عملت فلن الله خابره
أسر ما شئت إن الله [قلبك لا تخفى سرائره
لا شئ أحسن من شئ تقدمه ما كان من حسن فالله شاكره
لا يبرح المرء أعمالاً تقلدها أليس في عنق الإنسان طآره
البر أكرم زاد والتقى شرف والخير أجمع لا تبلى ذخآره

(85) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted :

يا أيها الخالي بلدآته تذكر الموت وغصآته
ومصرعآ منه على غتره وعلآ من بعض علآته
إن كنت أصبحت به موقناً وجاهلاً بعد بميقاته
فكيف تغتر بها ساعة لعله بعد موافاته
كم مصبح في نعمة آمناً قد غير الإساء حالاته

(86) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted :

إذا كان شغل المرء يزداد كثرة وأيامه مع ذاك تمضي وتنفد
وقد كان في ما قد خلا من [حآ الى طرق الردى يتردد
ولم يك ينوى توبة لذنوبه [الله ما يتزود
لحآ الله أقوامآ منام وهمهم حطام من الدنيا يبيد وينفد

(87) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān > 'Alī b. Jabala² who said :

¹ Died 253/867, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* II 342-3.

² Well-known poet, lived 160-213/777-828, see *Ta'rikh Baghdād* XI 359 ; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* XVIII 100-14 ; Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa'l-shu'arā'* 550-3.

وَحُذِّ لَكَ مِنْكَ عَلَى مُهْلَةٍ وَمُقْبِلَ عَيْشِكَ لَمْ يُدْبَرْ
 وَخُفَّ هَجْمُهُ لَا تَقِيلُ الْعِثَارَ وَتَطْوِي الْوُرُودَ عَلَى الْمَصْدَرِ خ
 وَمَثَلُ لِنَفْسِكَ أَنْ الرِّحِيلَ يَضُمَّكَ فِي حَلْبَةِ الْمُحْشَرِ أَيْ الرِّعِيلِ
 (99) Received from Muḥammad b. Idrīs > Huraim b. 'Uthmān
 > Sallām b. Miskīn¹:

سَأَلْتُ نَصْرَانِيًّا مَا أَوَّلُ الزُّبُورِ قَالَ طَوْبُ لَعْبَدٍ لَمْ يَسْلُكْ سَبِيلَ الْأَتَمَّةِ وَلَمْ يَجَالِسْ
 الْمُسْتَهْزِئِينَ وَالْحَاطِثِينَ²

(105) Received from a man of 'Abd al-Qais of Basra > Rābi'a al-'Adawiya:

اللَّهُمَّ قَدْ وَهَبْتُ لَكَ مِنْ ظَلَمْنِي فَاسْتَوْهِنِي مِنْ ظَلَمْتُ.

(107) Received from Muḥammad b. 'Amrān al-Dabbī³ > Ibn Kunāsa⁴ who said:

كَفَى تَطَفُّاً بِالْمَرْءِ يَأْتُمُ صَالِحٌ رُكُوبُ الْمَعَاصِي عَامِداً وَأَحْتِقَارُهَا
 وَكَيْفَ بِنَفْسٍ فِي الذُّنُوبِ مَقِيمَةٌ ضَعِيفٌ عَلَى مَسِّ الْعَذَابِ أَصْطَبَارُهَا
 جَنَّتْ مَوْجِبَاتُ النَّارِ ثَمَّةً أَصْبَحَتْ تَلَهَّى بِدُنْيَا قَدْ تَوَلَّى خِيَارُهَا

(115) Received from al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Rahmān > Sa'id b. Wahb⁵ who said when having walked far on the Pilgrimage:

قَدَمَيَّ أَتَوَرَّا رَمَلَ الْكَتِيبِ وَأَطْرَقَا الْآجِنَ مِنْ مَاءِ الْقَلِيبِ
 رَبِّ يَوْمٍ رَحِمَا فِيهِ عَلَى زَهْرَةِ الدُّنْيَا وَفِي وَادٍ خَصِيبِ
 وَسَمَاعٍ حَسَنٍ مِنْ حَسَنٍ صَخْبِ الْمَزْهَرِ كَالظَّبْيِ الرِّيبِ
 فَأَحْسَبَا ذَاكَ بَهْذَا وَأَصْبَرَا وَخَذَا مِنْ كُلِّ فَنٍّ بِنَصِيبِ
 إِنَّمَا أَمْشَى لِأَتَى مَذْنَبٍ فَلَعَلَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفُو عَنْ ذُنُوبِ

(116) Received from Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad > a man of Basra who would not take shelter from the sun when entering the Sacred Territory and said:

ضَحِيتُ لَهُ كَيْ أَسْتَظِلَّ بِظِلِّهِ إِذَا الظِّلُّ أَضْحَى فِي الْقِيَمَةِ قَالِصَا
 وَجَالَتْ نَفُوسُ النَّاسِ [غَائِرُ الْمَاءِ شَاخِصَا
 هُنَالِكَ إِنْ قَالَ أَمْرُو لَيْتَ أَتَى أَرَدَّ إِلَى الدُّنْيَا فَقَدْ كُنْتُ قَامِصَا
 فَيَا حَسْرَتِي إِنْ كَانَ سَعِيكَ بَاطِلاً وَيَا خِيَّتِي إِنْ كَانَ حِظُّكَ نَاقِصَا

¹ Died 167/774, see *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 263.

² Psalms I 1.

³ Tutor of the caliph-poet Ibn al-Mu'tazz (251-5/866-9), see *Ta'rikh Baghdād* III 132-3.

⁴ Noted poet, died 209/824, see *Ta'rikh Baghdād* V 204-8, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 259-60.

⁵ Well-known poet who died in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (201-18/815-33), see *Ta'rikh Baghdād* IX 73-4 where those verses are quoted, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* XXI 104-10.

(121) Received from Ishāq b. Ismā'il¹ > Jarīr² > al-A'mash³ > 'Amr b. Murra⁴ > Sālim b. Abi 'l-Ja'd⁵:

قال عيسى بن مريم لبنى اسرائيل زعمتم أن موسى نهاكم عن الزنا صدقتم وأنا
أنهاكم عنه وأحدثكم أن مثل حديث النفس بالخطيئة كمثل الدخان في البيت إن لا
يحرقه فإلته يثير ريحه ويغير لونه ومثل القادح في الخشبة لا يكسرهما فإلته ينخرها
ويضعفها.

(123) Received from an informant whose name has been obliterated by water:

من العمل الصغيرة والكبيرة	ألا يا غافلاً تحصى عليه
وقد أنسنته غفلته مصيره	يُصاح به ويُندَر كلَّ يوم
وأنذرك الرحيل أُنح وجيره	تأهَّب للرحيل فقد تدانى
كأن لم تقترب فيها صغيره	وأنت رخصي بالي في غروري
وعينك بالذي تآق قريره	وكم ذنب أئيت على بصيره
وإن عليك للعين البصيره	تحاذر أن تراك هناك عين
مُنِعْتَ برحمة منه وخيره	وكم حاولت من أمر عظيم
لكنك به نكالا في العشير	وكم من مدخل لو مُت فيه
ورُخت بنعمة فيه ستيره	وُقيت السوء والمكروه فيه
وُصِّبَ ليس تعرفها كبيره	وكم من نعمة لله تُمسي

(125) Received from a philosopher-poet:

من متاد في اللهو واللعب	ما تنقضى فكرتي ولا عجبى
[شديدة الطلب]
مخلوقة للفناء والعطب	وهو يُترجى خلود منزلة
بد ستلقى الحمام عن كُثب	أخسى لا تقترب فأنت لا
أثبت منها عليك في الكتب	تُب من خطاياك وأبك خشية ما
صار الى ربّه ولم يتب	أية حال تكون حال قتي

(126) Received from a philosopher-poet:

أخسى ولا تأمن مساورة الدهر	الى الله تُب قبل القضاء من العمر
دعوتك إشفاقاً عليك من الوزر	ولا تستصمّن عن دعائى فإتما

¹ Died 225/840, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* I 226-7.

² Died 175/791, see *ibid.* II 69-72.

³ Died 148/765, *ibid.* IV 222-6, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 220-1.

⁴ Died 116/734 or 118/736, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VIII 102-3, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 152.

Died 100/719, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 432-3, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 118

فقد حدثتك النائبات زولها و نادتك إلا أن سمعك ذو وقر
تنوح وتبكي للأخلة أن مضوا ونفسك لا تبكي وأنت على الأثر

(129) Received from Abū Ishāq al-Ādamī > Zaid b. 'Auf¹
> Hammād b. Salama² > Dāwud b. Abī Hind³ > Shahr b.
Ḥaushab⁴:

بيننا عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام جالسا مع الحواريين اذ جاء طائر منظوم الجناحين
بالؤلؤ والياقوت كأحسن ما يكون فجعل يدرج بين يديهم فقال عيسى دعوه لا
تنفروه فإن هذا بُعِثَ لكم آية فخلع سلاخه فخرج أقرع أهرق أصبح ما يكون
من الطير فأقْبَرُكة فتلوْث في حَمَاتِها فخرج أسود فجاء فاستقبل جرية الماء فاغتسل
ثم دعا الى سلاخه فلبسه فعاد اليه حسنه وجماله فقال عيسى لَمَّا بُعِثَ هذا لكم
آية إِنْ مثل هذا كُتِلَ المؤمن اذا تلوْث في الذنوب والخطايا نُزِعَ منه حسنه وجماله
فاذا تاب الى الله عاد اليه حسنه وجماله.

(135) Received from Ḥamza b. al-'Abbās⁵ > 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān⁶
> 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak > 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām⁷ > Shahr
b. Ḥaushab > Abū Huraira⁸:

بيننا المسيح في رهط من الحواريين بين نهر جارٍ وجية متنتة أقبل طائر حسن
اللون يتلون كأنما هو الذهب فوق قريباً فأنفض فسلخ عنه مسكه فإذا هو أقبح
شيء حين سلخ عنه مسكه أقيرع أحيش فانطلق يدب الى الجية المنتنة فتمتعك فيها
وتلطخ بئنتها فازداد قبوحاً الى قبوحه وتنشأ الى تنته ثم انطلق يدب حتى أتى نهرأ
الى جنبه ضحضاح صافي [sic] فاغتسل فيه حتى رجع كأنه بيضة مقشرة ثم انطلق
يدب الى مسكه فتدرعه كما كان حين أول مرة فكذلك مثل عامل الخطية حين يكون
في الخطايا وكذلك مثل التوبة كمثل اغتساله من النتن في النهر الضحضاح ثم راجع
ذنبه حين تدرع مسكه.

(151) Received from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain > 'Ubaid Allāh b.
Muḥammad al-Taimī⁹ > Zuhair al-Salūlī¹⁰ > a man of Bal'anbar
who said:

¹ See *Lisān al-mizān* II 509.

² Died 167/783, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 11-16, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 362.

³ Died 140/757, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 204-5, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 208.

⁴ Died 100/719, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IV 369-72, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* I 119.

⁵ Died 260/874, see *Ta'rikh Baghdad* VIII 179-80.

⁶ Died 221/837, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* V 313-4.

⁷ See *ibid.* VI 109-10.

⁸ Died 57/677, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* XII 262-7.

⁹ Died 228/843, see *ibid.* VII 45-6.

¹⁰ Died under al-Ma'mūn, see *ibid.* III 353.

بَكَيْتُ عَلَى الذَّنُوبِ لِعَظَمِ جُرْمِي وَحَقَّ لِكُلِّ مَنْ يَعِصِي الْبُكَاءَ
فَلَوْ كَانَ الْبُكَاءُ يَرُدُّ هَمِّي لَأَسْعَدَتِ الدُّمُوعُ مَعَا دِمَاءَ

First Authorities

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā quotes at first hand from about 100 informants in the course of the *Kitāb al-Tauba*; the great majority are of course responsible for a single item. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir al-Tamīmī al-Rāzī, to whom reference has been made above, easily leads the field of authorities with no fewer than seventeen entries (nos. 47–9, 52–3, 55–6, 68–9, 73–4, 89, 95–9). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-‘Āmirī al-Baghdādī comes second with ten items (nos. 35, 127, 133, 151, 176, 179, 180, 182–4), closely followed by al-Ḥusain b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarjarā’ī with nine (nos. 63–4, 72, 84–8, 115). Fourth place goes to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Marwazī who is quoted six times (nos. 70, 181, 193, 198–9, 201); the same total is credited to Ya‘qūb b. ‘Ubaid al-Nahrutīrī (nos. 20, 26, 43, 60, 114, 128). Of his teachers named by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,¹ al-Dhahabī² and Ibn Ḥajar³ it may be noted that he cites his father Muḥammad⁴ once (no. 188), Sa‘īd b. Sulaimān al-Wāsiṭī⁵ once (no. 167), Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī⁶ once (no. 170), Khalaf b. Hishām⁷ once (no. 163), Khālid b. Khidāsh⁸ once (no. 169), Suraij b. Yūnus⁹ once (no. 189), Dāwud b. Rushaid¹⁰ once (no. 196), and ‘Alī b. al-Ja‘d¹¹ thrice (nos. 51, 77, 177). No doubt the special character of the book largely influenced this unexpected distribution.

Below are given brief notes on the commonest used authorities in this book, with tables showing some of their *isnād*: a critical examination establishes the soundness of those chains of descent and confirms Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's reputation as a careful scholar according to the accepted standards of the Muslim science of Traditions.

¹ *Ta'rikh Baghdād* X 89.

² *Tadhkirāt al-huffāz* II 224.

³ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VI 12.

⁴ See *Ta'rikh Baghdād* II 370.

⁵ Died 225/840, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IV 43–4.

⁶ Died 236/850, see *ibid.* I 9.

⁷ Died 229/844, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* III 156–7.

⁸ Died 223/838 or 224/839, see *ibid.* III 85–6.

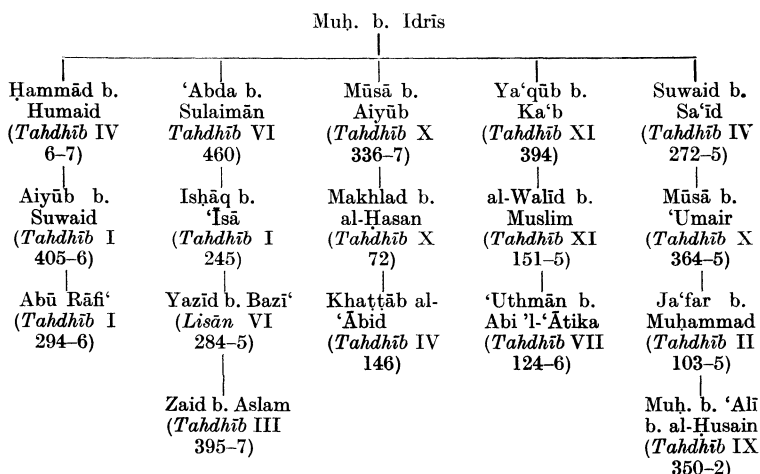
⁹ Died 235/850, see *ibid.* III 257–9.

¹⁰ Died 239/853, see *ibid.* III 184–5.

¹¹ Died 230/845, see *ibid.* VII 289–293.

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs

Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-Mundhir b. Dāwud al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī was born in 195/811, and wrote his first Traditions in 209/825; he afterwards taught the subject in Baghdad. His study-travels lasted seven years, in the course of which he walked more than 1,000 leagues. In 214/830 he came to Basra intending to stay there a year, but was only able to afford to remain eight months, and even then by dint of selling his clothes and being reduced to absolute destitution. From Bahrain he travelled to Cairo, Ramla, and Tarsus, amassing a vast collection of Traditions and establishing a wide reputation as a sound and learned scholar; he was quoted by such eminent authorities as al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja. He died in Sha'bān 277/November 890 at the age of 82.¹

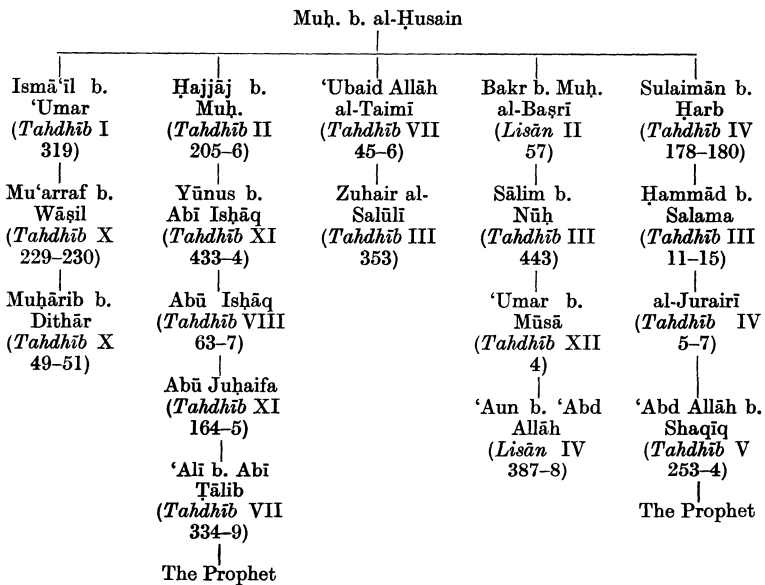
*Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain*

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥurr al-'Āmirī al-Baghdādī, called Ibn Ishkāb, had his original home in Nasā of the province of Khurāsān. His grandfather took part in the Abu 'l-'Abbās rising which led to the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate; his father grew up in Baghdad where he studied and taught Traditions and Law, dying in 216/831.² Ibn Ashkāb,

¹ *Ta'rikh Baghdād* II 73-7, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* II 132-4, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 31-4.

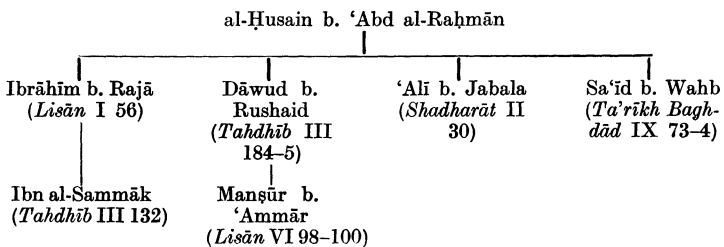
² *Ta'rikh Baghdād* VIII 17-8.

who was younger than his brother 'Alī (d. 261/875),¹ was cited twice by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and was generally regarded as truthful and trustworthy; he died at the age of 80 on 10 Muḥarram 261/25 October 874.²



al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarjarā'i, fellow-townsmen of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl the vizer of al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'in who died in 251/865,³ was used as an authority by Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'i and Ibn Māja; he died in 253/867.⁴



¹ Died 261/875, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* VII 302-3.

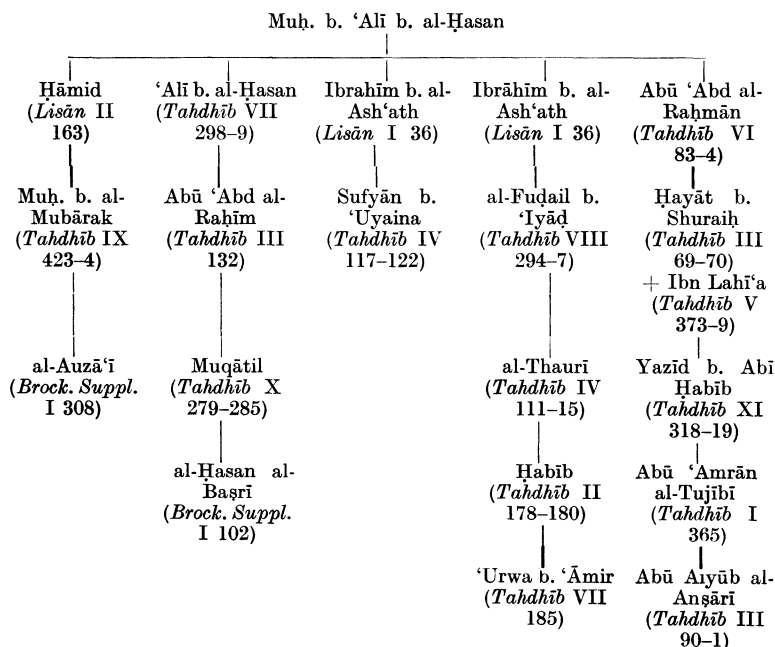
² Ibid. IX 121-2, *Ta'rikh Baghdād* II 223-4.

³ *Mu'jam al-buldān* III 80.

⁴ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* II 342-3.

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Abū 'Abd Allāh) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq b. Dīnār (or b. Muḥammad b. Dīnār) al-'Abdī al-Marwazī, whose father, a well-known traditionist in his day and an authority on Ibn al-Mubārak, died in 215/830,¹ was quoted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī and used by al-Bukhārī and Muslim; he died in 250/864 or 251/865.²

*Reading Notes*

The manuscript is particularly rich in reading notes, and the most important of these are here summarized.

(1) Entry by the celebrated Ḥanbalī scholar and author Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, who as recorded above transmitted the text to the copyist:

سمع علي هذا الجزء جميعه بروايته له بالإسناد المذكور في أوّله صاحبه الفقيه أبو الحرم مكي بن علي بن كامل الحراني وعورض له بهذه النسخة الأصل والشيخ أبو

¹ *Ta'rikh Baghdad* XI 371-2.

² *Ta'rikh Baghdad* III 55-6, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* IX 349-50.

الفتح نصر بن رضوان بن ثروان العدوى والسيد الشريف أبو المناقب شرخاب بن زُرير بن سرخاب الحسنى الدينورى والشيخ أبو محمد القسم بن محمد بن علي التاجر المقرئ المعروف بكرمىخ يوم الأحد السابع والعشرين من ذى القعدة سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة كتبه عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد بن قدامة المقدسى حامداً لله ومصلياً على رسوله محمد وآله ومسلماً.

(2) Record of a second reading with Ibn Qudāma by a group of scholars, dated 25 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 605/31 May 1309 and signed by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Naṣr Allāh al-Tanūkhī al-Ḥanafī, who acted as *qārī* jointly with Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Ni'ma al-Maqdisī.

(3) Record of a third reading with Ibn Qudāma, dated Rabī' II 618/May 1221 and signed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, the *qārī* being Abū Yūsuf 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Yūsuf al-Maqdisī, and the owner at this time Ḥusain b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maqdisī al-Mujallid al-Mu'adhdhin.

(4) Lengthy record of a reading with 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'Umar 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh b. Jamā'a al-Kinānī al-Shāfi'ī, the distinguished biographer (d. 767/1366),¹ signed by 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Zarandī al-Anṣārī, who was born ca. 710/1310, began his studies as a Shāfi'ī, then adopted the Ḥanafī School and became the first Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Medina in 766/1365, where he died in 772/1371.² Among others named as being present at this reading, which is dated 755/1354 and must have taken place in Medina, are :—

(i) Badr al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abi 'l-Barakāt Aḥmad b. Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rauḥ 'Īsa called Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Qurashī al-Shāfi'ī, described as *ḥākim* of Medina. Born in 698/1296, he was successively *qāḍī* of Aleppo and, in 754/1353, of Medina; from the latter post he was deposed in 756/1355, so that this session took place exactly half-way through his brief tenure of office. He died on the way to Cairo in 775/1374.³

(ii) Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sirāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭif b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad called Ibn Kuwaik al-Shāfi'ī, brother-in-law of Ibn Jamā'a and his deputy, who taught Traditions at the Qubba Baibars and died in 769/1368.⁴

¹ Brockelmann II 72, Suppl. II 78.

² Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* III 142-3.

³ Ibid. I 12-13.

⁴ Ibid. IV 24-5.

(iii) Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar, son of Ibn Jamā'a, who was born in 720/1320 and died at Cairo in 776/1374.¹

(iv) Sharaj al-Dīn Abū Bakr, son of Ibn Jamā'a, who was born in 728/1328, studied during his father's lifetime, but afterwards gave himself up to frivolity and squandered his inheritance; he died at Cairo in 803/1401.²

(v) 'Afif al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maṭarī al-Anṣārī, who was born at Mecca in 723/1323 and died at Medina in 787/1385.³

(vi) Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, brother of the foregoing, a learned lawyer (whereas 'Afif al-Dīn specialized in Traditions), who died at Aleppo in 765/1364 or 766/1365.⁴

(vii) Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' called Ibn al-Naqīb al-Shāfi'ī, a well-known Shāfi'ī scholar and author, son of a former Christian slave, who was born in 706/1306 and died in 769/1368.⁵

(viii) Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ismā'il [al-Madanī al-Muqri'], Imām and Khaṭīb in the Prophet's Mosque, who died in 785/1383.⁶

Some of the foregoing were accompanied by their slaves who are named.

¹ Ibid. III 172.

² al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* XII 47-8.

³ *al-Durar al-kāmina* II 245-6.

⁴ Ibid. II 340.

⁵ Brockelmann, Suppl. II 104.

⁶ *al-Durar al-kāmina* III 457.